

Message Text

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43

ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 INR-09

NSAE-00 RSC-01 L-02 MBFR-02 GAC-01 SAJ-01 ACDA-10

PM-03 INRE-00 IO-03 NEA-06 OMB-01 TRSE-00 RSR-01

PRS-01 (ADP) W

----- 014019

P 241210 Z MAR 73

FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5827

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION BERLIN

USDEL SALT TWO

C O N F I D E N T I A L HELSINKI 0770

LIMDIS/ NOFORN

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE: FRONTIER INVIOABILITY AND NONUSE OF FORCE--
CURRENT STATE OF PLAY AT MPT

FROM USDEL MPT

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

1. FRG DEL HERE HAS FIRM INSTRUCTIONS APPROVED AT
CABINET LEVEL, TO AGREE TO A COMPROMISE WITH SOVIETS
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INVOLVING ONLY TENUOUS LINKAGE BETWEEN FRONTIER INVIOABILITY AND NONUSE OF FORCE. SUPERFICIALLY IT WOULD ENTAIL MPT AGREEMENT TO A PRINCIPLES MANDATE CONTAINING FOLLOWING ELEMENTS: (A) " PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES OF UN CHARTER"-- BUT NO OTHER MULTILATERAL OR BILATERAL TEXTS-- WOULD BE CITED AS SOURCE FOR CSCE DECLARATION ON PRINCIPLES; (B) SEPARATE LISTING OF FRONTIER INVIOABILITY IN CATALOGUE OF PRINCIPLES-- BUT PROVIDED THAT IT APPEARS IMMEDIATELY AFTER PRINCIPLE OF NONUSE OF FORCE.

2. IN RETURN FOR THIS MOVE TOWARD SOVIET POSITION, FRG WOULD ALSO INSIST UPON INCLUSION OF PRINCIPLES OF SELF- DETERMINATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN MANDATE CATALOGUE.

3. FRG HAS NOT YET OFFERED THIS COMPROMISE IN ANY MPT GATHERING, BUT WE HAVE EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT AMBASSADOR BRUNNER HAS PRIVATELY AND CLEARLY SIGNALLED IT TO SOVIET AMBASSADOR MENDELEVICH. BRUNNER HAS ALSO BRIEFED ALLIES ON FRG THINKING IN NATO CAUCUS HERE (HELSINKI 752). HOWEVER, BRUNNER TOLD VEST THAT FRG POSITION WAS NOT MADE CLEAR AT MARCH 22 SENIOR POLAD MEETING (USNATO 1471) BECAUSE FRG REP DID NOT FULLY GRASP TENOR OF HIS INSTRUCTIONS.

4. FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN MPT PLENARY INDICATED SOME TIME AGO HIS WILLINGNESS TO DECOUPLE PRINCIPLES OF FRONTIER INVIOABILITY AND NONUSE OF FORCE-- TO VISIBLE IRRITATION OF FRG DEL WHICH, AS INDICATED ABOVE, EXPECTED TO MAKE THIS MOVE ONLY IN CONTEXT OF BROADER DEAL WITH SIVETS. OTHER ALLIES HAVE NOT RPT NOT ABANDONED FORMULATION IN PRESENT ITALIAN (NATO) DRAFT MANDATE WHICH EXPLICITLY SUBORDINATES FRONTIER INVIOABILITY TO NONUSE OF FORCE, BUT SOVIETS UNDOUBTEDLY EXPECT THAT THEY WILL FOLLOW FRG, WHEN IT IS READY TO MOVE.

5. HOWEVER, ITALIAN DEL HERE, CONSIDERING ITSELF AS SPOKESMAN FOR ALLIES ON THIS ISSUE AND OPERATING UNDER RIGID INSTRUCTIONS FROM ROME, HAS STRONGLY DEFENDED LINKAGE OF 2 PRINCIPLES-- THIS DESPITE THE FACT THAT RECENT KOSYGIN- ANDREOTTI COMMUNIQUE LISTS FRONTIER INVIOABILITY AS SEPARATE PRINCIPLE. AGAINST THIS

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BACKGROUND, MENDELEVICH HAS BROUGHT ITALIAN DEL UNDER HEAVY FIRE IN MPT (MINI- GROUP) DISCUSSIONS, WHERE FRENCH, FRG, UK AND US HAVE SUPPORTED ITALY. ITALIAN DEL, AT THE SAME TIME, SUSPECTS THAT MOST ALLIES ARE READY TO FOLLOW FRG LEAD IN EFFORT TO FIND COMPROMISE FOR THIS CONTENTIOUS ISSUE.

6. IT IS THIS SITUATION WHICH HAS LED TO ITALIAN INITIATIVE TO ADDRESS ISSUE IN NAC AND TO AMBASSADOR ORTONA' S RECENT CALL ON THE DEPUTY SECRETARY (STATE 53672).

7. WE EXPECT MPT DURING REMAINDER THIS PHASE WILL EXPLORE PRINCIPLES IN BROADER CONTEXT WITHOUT COMMITMENT, FOR REPORT TO GOVERNMENTS DURING APRIL BREAK, IN ORDER TO PREPARE FOR DECISION THEREAFTER.

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